526 The pole and stick game (aiki'wič) was for
616 men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai'wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

The pole and tossed hoop game (hole'wič)
[164] was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telweyit and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

Matching lines was a game played by two
[765] men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a'nal (she gave aiki'wič as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai''iwan) or another straight willow (sala''am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota''al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai'yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno'lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms
221 which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 23a]

301 were many songs connected with this practice,
221 but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread
[171] than one might expect, as there are hints of it from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
825 J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lːts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nːts; from towo´´e, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust
[262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he
[237] sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill
844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [52]J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53]Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 A very long time ago there were two girls
776 called ta ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na'watsa´ meke´' elac´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (t·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi´t·p a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (t·pni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power
[756] were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's
821 dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

● [301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[30] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi'i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutumutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 49 c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Pages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Pages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291 301 Dress.---Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Pages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [854] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.---Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Pages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Pages, x, 72-76.

[121] Pages, 49.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 516] Tubatulabal US22

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y [354]

Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 515

T Y 517

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

T Y 524

Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 323

Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 436

Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 286

Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 805

Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y● ●301

Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y [237]

Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

T Y 534

[130] Cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states that the breechclout was not removed during bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.---It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

The belt was of milkweed string woven ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi ʻkoi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi ʻʻ‹č (fig. 13, g). Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom which was perhaps diffused through Spanish influence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

A sandal (daki ʻʻ‹č) of thick hide, deer neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very hot weather or when making a long journey. Several layers of hide were cut to the foot pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

Sandals were not worn by women. No type of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

1; Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary occasions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

Women's dress.--Women also wore a buckskin breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162]Handbook, 519.

[163]Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ǎa'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki ´n·p) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki ´ñuts) was always
285 coiled, of a shape similar to the small individual mush basket. It was used only when
[482] carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.). While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau ´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the
[765] period of active mourning, when it was singed close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue.
292 An ornamental headband (hoči ´n) worn by women was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ta'ati (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo'dːs (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a'hːt (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no'či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta'naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tamːk were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin 431 blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear at other seasons because they attracted thunder
301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an
821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitu-
[823] men?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the re-
783 ciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Wakaachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
● [301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs,
[465 necklaces, and headbands were added. The
431] washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs,
[237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262 the meat tabu for the bereaved. The recipro-
cant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 147 a] Choinimni

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302 Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men.
[304 Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a
307] bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

286 A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema,
301 but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

481 Means of transport.---As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and
[868] creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

501 The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding
[502] and many other things." Eight to ten persons, usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

482 According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the
[283] conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

[8] Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9] Ibid., 29, 12.

[10] Ibid., 29-31, 37.

821 192 773 Star lore.---Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u´p:š: sun
toiyu´ nam u´p:š: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´n:š: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls). E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawač:t: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´č:n čano´'on:t: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.---The year was divided into moon months (yet u´p:š, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mč:n, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´l:pi, six).

823 Earthquake.---E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

825 301 Snake-charm.---In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 386 822 192 Paint.---The colors and sources were as follows:

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were [552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

616 825 237 Redemption of totem animals.--When an eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616 825 [231] A Nutuwich man, Či´p:t, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko h:p (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čip:t received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the [301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´y:l) was kept in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62] Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

W
Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.---The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
Y foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
[237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and
439] Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.---The shaman's dance skirt,
Y which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted
292 of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša'
237 string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´bi, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´bi, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

W
Y
292 The skirt was made by either men or women,
462 but the headdress was made only by men. An old
435 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´´o was particularly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.---Everyone, said S.O.,
Y had his or her ears punched. This was done
● 301 with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heated point was pressed from in front against the
304 lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for
W this aperture.

Tattooing.---There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and
W continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
Y S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

302 Paint.---Face and body paints were hapa´ka
[192] o čak (red), toiye´´i očak (white), and mutakei´wak očak (black, i.e., charcoal) [all teams Michahai.]

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535 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has
527 the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California In-
237 dians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance
[301] costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part
[171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base
237 and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual
301 central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachem*
237 and the *watamat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried
301 in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points.

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.)

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture.

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired.

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode.

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts.

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CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

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into the desert territory where they were scarce, trade them for obsidian, which was plentiful there, return it to his own land and sell it for Yokuts shell or steatite beads, which passed for money. It will be seen from this and from what is to follow that Yokuts money represented principally the accumulation of labor.

The cheapest Yokuts money was made from periwinkle or olivella shells with the tips ground off, so they could be strung. The smaller shells were of less value than the larger. The *Wukchumne* Yokuts called these shells *Chawik*. Olivella shells were made into three forms of beads besides the one describd. They were split in half. The large, outer half was punched for a string. Some of these beads were five-eighths of an inch across and more than an inch long. In some Yokuts cemeteries these two crude forms of Yokuts money have been found in great quantities; in some instances there have been several gallons in one grave, the hoarded savings of the first penny-pinchers and nickel-grabbers of the San Joaquin Valley.

The whorl of the periwinkle was made into a thick bead having a curved edge. When strung, these nested somewhat like the snake-like gold chains made by modern jewlers. One of these beads was worth six of the shells with tips ground off, or two of the large half-shell beads. They were called *Huchin*.

From the thin lip of the periwinkle shell was made a bead which sometimes strung as many as twenty to the inch. "Two of these," said *Wahumchah*, an aged *Yowlumne* Yokuts, "were worth one curved bead. We called them *Mochowkuh* (Mochow'-kuh)." Beads made from purple mussel shell were called *Sueyuk* (Suey'-ook). From the keyhole limpet shell a hair ornament was made. Wahumchah stated that they were not common and that he did not know the value they had in relation to the other old Yokuts money.

From fine-grained steatite the Yokuts made a valuable form of bead-money. This steatite was mined by the *Yokodo* Yokuts near Lindsay Peak, east of the present town of Lindsay. It was traded or sold by them to Yokuts traders from tribes over the entire southern San Joaquin Valley. Steatite bead money was very valuable. Wahumchah stated that it was three times as valuable as the most valuable olivella beads. Near Woodville I once found a place where a steatite bead maker had manufactured and cached his product for many years. From the sandy soil I screened thousands of completed beads, as well

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436 as more thousands in all stages of completion. A study of these
324 proved that the steatite was first split into thin slabs, gouged, scraped, and sanded smooth, then cut into strips by means of a chipped stone saw. I found two of these saws, their chipped
[412] edges still coated with steatite. The strips were next cut into squares. Cuts were made from opposite sides until the strip was severed. Then holes were drilled in the square blanks.

Ichow, last chief of the Wukchumne, explained to me the whole process of making steatite beads, not knowing at the time that I had already found proof of almost every statement he was making. Said Ichow, "When I was a boy I saw an old Wukchumne man make lots beads. He drive stake in ground. He sit on ground straddle that stake. He cut little square hole in top that stake. He put square bead in that hole. Then he take little stick with *kots* (obsidian) drill point on end. He spin that drill between his hands and make holes in them square beads."

Ichow went on to explain that the square beads were strung on a small, hardened rod of chamise wood and rolled between the hand and a gritty, flat piece of sandstone. This ground the corners from the square beads and left them of uniform size. This steatite bead was the most common form of Wukchumne money. Said Ichow, "Most our money was them soapstone beads. Them *Telumne, Kaweah, Koyeti,* and *Choinok* used the same beads almost all time. Them *Chunut, Tachi,* and *Wowol* people used more shell money, but they used some our soapstone money, too."

The most interesting feature of this steatite Yokuts money is that the edges of it were milled, almost exactly as are the edges of our silver dollar. The principal difference in the milling was that the Yokuts bead-money was milled at an angle with the flat sides. This milling is surprisingly uniform and will be found on this form of Yokuts money at old village sites from Paleta and Tejon Canyon on the south, to Coalinga and Friant on the north.

436 Spangles and ornaments of various forms and sizes were
● 301 made from abalone shell. I have several statements establishing the fact that they passed from person to person as money; but because of their supernatural power, they were valued so highly that such use was greatly restricted. They were known as *Tahp* and were used on *Tripne* (supernatural) ceremonial costumes. They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or

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They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or mouth of the dead, as Ichow stated, "So that dead person could see, hear, talk good in *Tihpiknits'* (keeper of the hereafter) *Pahn* (land)." Such use of Tahp has been found in some of the most ancient burials discovered in Yokuts territory, which indicates that it had long been valued by the ancestors of those people.

The most valued of all Yokuts money was made from the shell of the famous Pismo clam. Most of this Pismo clam shell-money was probably traded through Cuyama Valley from Canaliño neighbors to the southwest. Tejon informants have stated to me that the word, *Cuyama,* was the Canaliño name for the Pismo clam shell and that the Cuyama Valley was the channel through which these shells were traded to the Yokuts. Curiously enough, clam-shell ornaments are less common in adjacent Yokuts territory than they are farther north in Chunut Yokuts territory. My informers concerning the above were Rosa and Ramon Hino and Juan Losada of Tejon Canyon. Wahumchah, one of the last two living Yowlumne Yokuts, has told me that his tribe obtained their clamshell money through the Cuyama. Wahumchah's father and grandfather were both traders and his observations along these lines should carry more than ordinary weight.

I have heard no claims made that Pismo clam shell-money had any curative or preservative powers, only that it had great value as money. This is borne out by the use made of it in Yokuts burials. It was almost always placed in the mouths of the dead. *Yoimut,* an aged Chunut, once stated to me, "To pay them bad fish-people to let the dead person cross that narrow bridge to Tihpiknits' Pahn. They put it in the mouth so that dead person don't lose it and he sure to have it when he get to Tihpiknits' Pahn."

The Pismo clam ornaments were of three standardized shapes and had holes drilled through them. Discs were made in sizes from more than two inches in diameter to less than one-half inch. The edges of most of these were decorated with incised geometric forms in several designs. Indications are that the incisions were originally rubbed full of asphaltum. This bright black material contrasted strikingly with the white of the clam shell and made them the most spectacular and impressive forms of stone or shell money, or ornaments produced by the Yokuts.

[i.e., sponges and ornaments of abalone shell.—Ann Lyst]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red, yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and comfortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p. 78]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Lewamit and Hawtoy, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wahnomkot. The beads are of Indian manufacture, of steatite and shell materials. They were constructing the tule house which appears in the background.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash.

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives.

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts.

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design.

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black.

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-won*), red being most common.

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Weh-puk'-in and Ne'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were usd for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

252
415
142
30
302
415
516

Wah-puk'-in showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it. 252

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

142
292
301
293
791

[p.202]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sinel, a Tachi medicine man and rain-maker from the north shore of Tulare Lake. He was born and died at the old Tachi village of Waiu, southeast of present Lemoore. His medicine costume is authentic, except for the wire belt and the beaded band worn diagonally across his chest. The wristlets and necklace are made of primitive periwinkle shell and soapstone beads. The large spangles are of abalone shell. The top of the headdress is made of magpie tail feathers, surrounded by a string of fine, down-covered feathers from the breast of the eagle. Next below is a mass of split crow tail-feathers and around the brow is a down-covered band. In the older days Sinel's face and body would have been painted black, his face decorated with large dots and his legs and arms with stripes of pure white paint made of native chalk. The ear ornaments are made of sparrow hawk and flicker feathers, the batons of red-tailed hawk and sparrow-hawk feathers. The skirt is made of milkweed strings into which have been twisted down from the breast of the eagle. The tips of the skirt strings have tied to them the tips of the tail feathers from the red-tailed hawk. Photo furnished by Mrs. Mary Pohut.

142
292
293
301
791

[p.203]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

142
285
291
301
302

Loweyait and Nawtay, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ishew and Wahaemhut. Loweynit was a good student. During her first year in school, where all other children were white, she completed two years of work in one and stood at the head of her class. She died of tuberculosis while in her Sophmore year at Exeter High School.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10]

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops.

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten.

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs.

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10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokuts and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops, for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans dancing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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195

women—the women—have the most offerings—the most offerings—give the most—give the most—the women—the women—give the most."

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276

He spoke fully as long as Sloknich had done, and while he was speaking they were preparing a decoction of Indian tobacco by the fire. When he ceased he took his place in the circle, and all of them now began to sip and taste the tobacco, which seemed to be intended as a kind of mortification of the flesh. Sitting along on the embankment, while the nauseous mess was passing around in a basket, and others were tasting the boiled leaves, they sought to mitigate the bitter dose with jokes and laughter. One said, "Did you ever see the women gather tobacco for themselves?" This was intended as a jest, for no woman ever touches the weed, but nobody laughed at it. As the powerful emetic began to work out its inevitable effect, one Indian after another arose from the circle and passed slowly and silently out into the outer darkness, whence there presently came up to our ears certain doleful and portentous sounds, painfully familiar to people who have been at sea. After all the Indians in the circle, except a few tough stomachs, had issued forth into the darkness and returned to their places, about eleven o'clock, the herald went around as before, making a third proclamation:

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"Let all mourn and weep. O, weep for the dead. Think of the dead body lying in the grave. We shall all die soon. We were a great people once. We are weak and little now. Be sorrowful in your hearts. O, let sorrow melt your hearts. Let your tears flow fast. We are all one people. We are all friends. All our hearts are one heart."

For the last hour or so the mourners and their more intimate friends and sympathizers, mostly women, had been collecting in Kolomusnim's quarter, close behind the circle, and preparing their offerings. Occasionally a long, solitary wail came up, trembling on the cold night-wind. At the close of the third proclamation they began a death-dance, and the mourners crowded promiscuously in a great, open booth, and held aloft in their hands or on their heads, as they danced, the articles they intended to offer to the memory of the departed. It was a splendid exhibition of barbaric gewgaws. Glittering necklaces of *Haliotis* and other rare marine shells; bits of American tapestry; baskets of the finest workmanship, on which they

301

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 [30] had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens' feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume, 769 237 293 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted. [532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, *sister to Kolomusnim.*

769 786 152 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

533 539 192

22. Mountain-sheep song.

'hiyeu-na ukunumū

or: hideu-na ukun
where I drink-will

wa na dòuto ukun
for I mountain-at drink-will

23. Ground-squirrel song. When the ground-squirrel, pohad, eats buckeyes, it becomes crazy.

ama wateimji oteote t'ipin
Then swung-in-his-hand magpie high

muyukju
whirled

wateimin oteoteo
swinging-in-his-hand magpie

[301] Wateam is a feather ornament held in the hand, wateim is to hold or move it; oteote, magpie, appears to mean magpie feathers.

24. Road-runner's song. Yauelmani or a Valley dialect. The Yaudanchi equivalent words as given by the informant are added.

oyuoyu nan he
oyuy nan xe
road-runner me here

limini mai
dawit-sa mak
let-run us-two

hiam-ā na teokonit
hiam na teokit
now I am-hit

teokunau nim
teoxhau nim
feather-belt-in my

25. Otter song. Yaudanchi.

nahait' hāhi dawit yaudan
otter (said): "run in-brush!"

dañand-na yaudau dawit
hear I: "in-brush run!"

26. Water's song. Dreamed by a female relative, of his grandfather's generation, of the informant. The present version is in Yaudanchi. The original song is said to have been in the